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765 *Mourning Customs.*—A widow allows her hair to grow long, refrains from washing and smears her body daily with ochre for one to two months (varying in accordance with the worldly status of the deceased husband). At the end of this period she is shaven and washed in the river by female relatives. If she is [587] still comparatively young she will have a suitor, and he will, at the conclusion of her mourning, present her with a goat, etc., that she may be able to provide a feast for friends and relatives. Males do not engage in mourning rites. If, therefore, a man loses his wife he summons a married sister to come and perform the rites on his behalf. She remains in seclusion during the period of mourning, and allows her hair to grow long. On the conclusion of the rites she returns to her husband's village.

613 *Government and Law.*—It may be surmised that, prior to the time when they came under the Habe of Zaria, the Katab 622 tribe consisted of a number of unconsolidated groups without 648 any central organization. Each group or sub-clan may have acknowledged the authority of its own Magajin Elenowum in things spiritual and temporal, but the existing system of sub-clan chiefs charged with executive and administrative powers seems to have been evolved in order to regulate the relations of the tribe with the Habe of Kauru, who had established their suzerainty over the Katab long before they themselves became subject to the Bornu-Fulani dynasty of Zaria at the beginning of last century.

648 The Hausa town of Zangon Katab was founded during the early Kauru régime as a caravanserai for Hausa traders, and as 622 a base from which the Kauru chiefs could extract tribute from 554 the Katab and exercise such administrative control as was 778 necessary for this purpose. In the matter of tribute it would appear that the Kauru chiefs dealt direct with each village area, ignoring the clan organization. But for purposes of such general administration as existed, a headman was appointed for each sub-clan, and his fealty was sworn on the sacred sword which was a characteristic feature of the Zaria polity. Sacred swords were granted to chiefs of importance throughout the Zaria dominions and treated with the utmost awe by the recipients, who guarded them closely and sprinkled them regularly with the blood of a chicken or goat. Minor chiefs and village headmen were not granted a sword, but were sworn in on a sword specially

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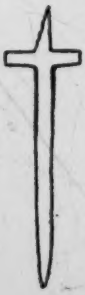
sent from Kauru for the purpose. The Katab headmen were treated in this way and, when a new headman was appointed, a messenger was sent from the chief of Kauru with the sword wrapped in a mat. The messenger was given numerous presents (a goat, bags of millet, salt, a dish of butter, and 10,000 cowries) and the ceremony of swearing-in was then performed. "Here is the sword," he said; "if you swear that you will do no mischief, and will hide nothing from us you will be established. But if you engage in intrigue this sword will kill you." The headman swore to be faithful for ever, and was then allowed a fleeting glance at the sword, the case being slightly opened. A feast was held, and the messenger returned to Kauru with the sword. The present district headman of the Katab area obtained two of these swords from Kauru and uses them in the same way to-day. He has issued one to each of the heads of the sub-clans, Aswen and Fakan, and these headmen use the swords for swearing in minor officials of the sub-clan. No village headman would feel that he had been properly appointed if he had not been shown the sword.

The sword shown to me was shaped thus, the handle having been injured :—



The length was about two feet. Numerous other chiefs of Nigerian tribes have sacred swords. Some are believed to have been brought from the Yemen by the forefathers of the chief. (But those examined were of Prussian manufacture.)

When the Bornu-Fulani dynasty displaced the Habe of Zaria, Kauru came under the new régime and the Katab continued to function as an appendage of Kauru. (Morwa, however, dealt

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direct with Zaria.) The Makama of Zaria was the Kauru "intermediary" (*kofa*), and the Galadiman Makama used to accompany the chief of Kauru on his annual visit to Zangon Katab, when tribute, in the form of slaves, was collected town by town. The Katab were not always, however, under control and would, on occasion, unite to drive the chief of Kauru out of Zangon Katab and pillage the Hausa inhabitants. Occurrences such as this were exceptional, for it was admitted that normally all Katab who committed serious offences were sent to Kauru to be sold into slavery. Thus one guilty of murder or burglary was dispatched to Kauru. He might be ransomed by his relatives, but as the ransom for a murderer was four slaves, the relatives seldom exercised the privilege. Minor offences could be dealt with locally. A small theft committed by a fellow clansman would be dealt with privately, the thief receiving a thrashing and being made to restore the stolen property. Or he might he haled before the sub-clan chief and elders (the elders generally acquiescing in the decision of the chief). The thief would be made to restore the stolen property and be mulcted in a fine, two-thirds of which would go to the complainant, the remaining one-third being divided among the chief and elders. An adulterer would also be haled before the chief and fined; but if he was a fellow clansman the injured husband would say nothing beyond abusing his wife. Disputes as to the paternity of children were determined by the administration of sass-wood to chickens representing the contending parties. Those charged with witchcraft were required to drink the sass-wood personally; but the permission of the sub-clan head had to be obtained before trials by ordeal could be held. Owing to the custom of contracting sub-marriages, disputes as to the paternity of children were, and still are, of daily occurrence. The complainant (the prior husband) went with the elders of his town to the town of his former wife's parents. The new husband also appeared, accompanied by his elders, and the matter was threshed out before the seniors of all three villages, the protagonists being the woman and her former husband. If the matter could not be decided the late husband and the new husband each produced a chicken and sass-wood was administered. The case was decided in favour of the man whose chicken survived.

This question of the contraction of sub-marriages and the

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149.	Untie it	biyukgu	bijukgu
	Tie this rope	lap eyu yanka	lap ɛjujanka
	Make the boy untie the goat	tie bangwon ka biyuk jon	tiɛ bangwɔn ka bijuk dʒɔn
150.	My brothers and I, we are going but no one else	nung banga nanyurnung zinat ziranyinzit	nuŋ baŋa nanjurnuŋ zɪnat zɪranjɪnzɪt
	Brothers, let us go and tell the Chief	nanyurnung bai zinat zi his ma gwam	nanjurnuŋ bai zinat zi his ma gwam
151.	This tree is bigger than that	akwon kane ka nare si kane mishi	akwon kane ka nare sɪ kane mɪʃi

(nare = exceed ; mishi = size)

Last night I was in my house with a white man. We heard a noise outside. He said, " Do you hear that ; they are thieves ; let us go out and see." We went out. I said : " Who are you ? " They answered, " Nothing." But I said, " You are thieves." Then we called the police and put them in prison.

Lio ta tuk in she mali nung, dung yang ganet bature (*or* bang bature iyang). Du fok mochi tosa (*or* zizi fok mochi tosa) ; gugo sihio, " fok tuni ; tambiya babiya (*or* ekhiene, " a fok aliena ; etangvia) ; yok zu wut zu li." zu wut. na hio : " yin yine yan bia ? " se basi chim, " kiang sheva." nung inhio, " yin etangvia." se zi je dogare, zut tiaba a sarka.

Lio tə tuk in ʃe mali nuŋ, duŋ jaŋ ganɛt bature (or baŋ bature ijaŋ). du fɔk motʃi tɔsa (*or* zizi fɔk motʃi tɔsa). gugɔ sɪhɪo, " fɔk tuni ; tambija babija (*or* ɛxiɛne, " afɔk aliena ; ɛtaŋvia) ; jɔk zu wut zu li." zu wut. na hio, " jɪn jɪnɛ jan bia ? " se basi tʃɪm, " kiaŋ ʃeva." nuŋ ɪnhio, " jɪn ɛtaŋvia." Se zi je dogare, zut tiaba a sarka.

THE KACHICHERE

The Kachichere, who call themselves the Aticherak (atɪʃəra:k) and are known to the Katab as the Tichat (titʃa:t), are an insignificant tribe of 620 persons, of whom 470 are located in the Chawai district of Zaria Province and 150 in the Katab district. They state that they were once much more numerous and occupied a large proportion of the country now occupied by the Katab, but that the tribe was almost wiped out by a volcanic eruption which occurred about 150 years ago. This is quite probable, as there are numerous craters in the district.

101 161 731

There is no tribal organization, those in the Chawai district forming village-areas under the Chief of Chawai, and those in

619 648

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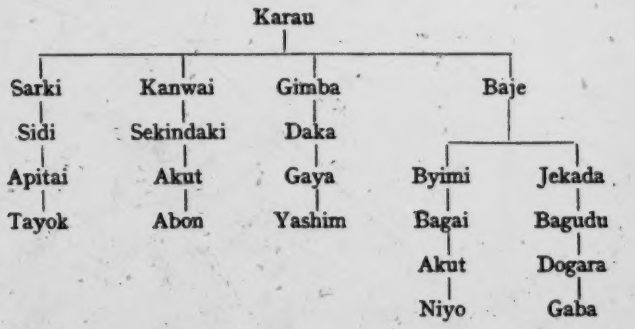
619 the Katab district being administered by the Katuka, both of
648 whom are district headmen of the Emir of Zaria. In former times they acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chiefs of Kajuru, from whom the Kachichere Chief received the sacred sword which was, in pre-Fulani days, the emblem of office.

619 I spent two days among the Kachichere, my inquiries being merely directed towards ascertaining the character of the social
614 organization. The tribe, if it can be called a tribe, consists of four social groups: (1) the Ne-Tabin, (2) the Ne-Chobiam, (3) the Ne-Tiet, and (4) the Iningwa-Tiap.

614 The members of each group believe themselves to be blood relatives, and as they appear to be able to trace their ancestry genealogically back to a common forefather, they may be regarded as kindreds rather than clans. The Ne-Tabin pedigree was given as follows:—



614 Each kindred constitutes for marriage purposes a single exogamous unit; that is to say, no Tabin may marry a Tabin,
582 but a Tabin may marry a member of any of the other kindreds.
583 There are no family totems, but all respect the crocodile and leopard. There is no grouping, as among the Katab, which permits of the contraction of sub-marriages by wife elopement. It is a taboo for any Kachichere to elope with the wife of any other Kachichere. Sub-marriages may, however, be contracted with wives obtained from neighbouring tribes.

614 The kindreds are not localised, but live together intermingled
621 in a single village-area. The civil Chief of the Kachichere of the Katuka's district belongs to the Tabin kindred, and his

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KACHICHERE (Zaria Province).
(A dialect of Katab, *q.v.*)

1.	Head	epio	ɛpio
2.	Hair	epio	ɛpio
3.	Eye	eli	ɛli
	Two eyes	lili	lɪli feǎ
4.	Ear	fufwo	FuFwo
	Two ears	fufwo feang	feaŋ
5.	Nose	zuai	zuai
6.	One tooth	enyung enyung	ɛnjuŋ ɛnjuŋ
	Five teeth	yungyung ofwon	juŋjuŋ ɔfwɔn
7.	Tongue	elyam	zʎam
8.	Neck	fuwo	fuwo
9.	Breast (woman's)	abibein	abɪbɛɪn
10.	Heart	alio	alio
11.	Belly	vam	vam
12.	Back	azame	azame
13.	Arm	bwak	bwa:k
14.	Hand	atein bwak	atɛɪn bwak
	Two hands	atein bwak afeang	atɛɪn bwak afeaŋ
15.	Finger	gasuong	gasuɔŋ
	Five fingers	gasuong suon	gasuɔŋ suɔn
16.	Finger nail	gafwo	gafwɔ
17.	Leg	tak	ta:k

Last night I was in my house with a white man; we heard a movement outside; he said, "they are thieves; let us go and see." We went and I said, "who are you?" and they answered, "nothing." But I said, "you are thieves"; so we called the police and put them in prison.

Lio shushun ashio mali nu eshi bang bature; zizi for lak atose; a se shio "atang bia; jong gwut ndi". sun gwut se nyem mongo "nyin nyan-nyan bia?" be si shim "kiang hwa ba". Amz sin shio "nyin atangwa"; hufwa singe dogari sin tie azan cham.

Lio ʃuʃun aʃɪɔ mali nu ɛʃɪ baŋ bature; zɪzɪ fɔr la:k atɔse; a se ʃɪɔ "ataŋ bia; dʒɔŋ gwut ndi". sun gwut se njɛm mɔngo, "njɪn nyan-nyan bia?" be sɪ ʃɪm "kiang hwa ba?" ama sɪn ʃɪɔ (or sɪn çɪɔ) "njɪn ataŋwa"; hufwa sɪ nge dogari sɪn tie azan tʃam.

THE KAGORO

101 648 The Kagoro are a tribe of some 9,600 people, located in the Plateau Province to the south-west of the Katab and six or seven miles north of Jemaa. There is a tribe known as the Kagoro in French West Africa, and one as the Kaguru in British East

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Kagoro

101 Africa. They are an independent tribe, under the government
648 of a central chief, their independence having been conceded on the ground that the tribe was never wholly subservient to the Fulani Emirs of Jemaa. There is evidence, however, that these Emirs had at times sufficient influence to meddle in the internal affairs of the tribe, even to the extent of nominating the tribal chief. It is indeed probable that the existence of a central authority is due to this foreign influence. It would further appear that prior to the destruction by the Fulani of the power of Kajuru (Zaria Province) the Kagoro were to some extent subservient to Kajuru.

They state that they migrated to their present habitat from
101 the direction of Nimbia in the vicinity of Jemaa, but it is clear
174 that linguistically and culturally they belong to the same tribal group as the Katab and Morwa, with whom they freely intermarry. They dress in the same distinctive manner as the Katab, and live usually in the same peculiar type of house. It is noteworthy, however, that in some of the Kagoro villages the houses are of the round pattern, and this is said to be the more ancient. It would appear probable, therefore, that a fusion has taken place between the Kagoro, Katab, and Morwa within comparatively recent times, a fusion which has also embraced, though to a lesser extent, the neighbouring tribes of the Kaje, Jaba, Kagoma, and some sections of the Ikulu.

582 The social system throughout all these tribes follows a uniform pattern in two important respects, viz. that the tribe is organized for purposes of (*a*) marriage with girls not previously married, and (*b*) marriage by elopement with married women, the general rule being that the component units of the local group do not elope with each others' wives, but certain units of one local group either marry the daughters or steal the wives of members of certain sections of another local group, but may not (with rare exceptions) do both. That is to say, e.g. that the members of unit *a* of village-area *X* may marry the daughters of members of units *a*, *b*, *c* of village *Y*, but may not elope with their wives; they may elope with the wives of members of units *d*, *e*, *f* of village *Y*, but may not marry their daughters. Occasionally one unit of one town may both marry the daughters and steal the wives of a unit in some other town, but this appears to be quite exceptional and contrary to propriety. In certain cases

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Kaje

The Kaje

The Kaje, who call themselves the Baju, are situated to the south-west of the Katab, and are split in two by the Zaria Plateau provincial boundary, half the tribe being under the Emir of Zaria and the other half under the Emir of Jemaa. The tribe was originally wholly administered by Zaria, being directly responsible to the Galadima of that city, and the present unfortunate bisection dates back to that period of last century when the establishment of the Fulani at Jemaa led to a reshuffling of the districts.

The Kaje consist of six localized groups, as follows:

(1) The Baiduang, inhabiting the villages of Zonkwa, Zuturu, Kurmin Bi, and Madauchi (Zaria Province).
(2) The Baintso, inhabiting the villages of Fadan Kaje, Tsofon Gidda, Fadia, Rimfa, Kafō, Zagwom (Zaria Province).
(3) The Baimbin, inhabiting the villages of Aduang, Suriang, Wadong, Kan-Kadong (Plateau Province).
(4) The Baimturung, inhabiting the villages of Duwhan, Vontong, Abet, Kanyem, Abong (Plateau Province).
(5) The Batadon, inhabiting the villages of Madakia, Azufwo, Kukwan, Furjam, Giddan Atang, Vumpang, Pong, Sosun, Kumantso, Dichodon, Zat, Zankiruwa (Plateau Province).
(6) The Banewhan, inhabiting the villages of Katsuk, Zubong, Marsa, Afana, Zamberkpat, Bakin Kogi, Rakawan, Chenchuk, Kurdan, Ataiechap, Kamerun, Rikeakwon, Zauru (Plateau Province).

These six divisions may be described as village confederacies, for they are not "clans" in the accepted sense of being exogamous units. Certain informants of the Baiduang group stated that in former times no Baiduang man could marry a Baiduang woman, and a villager of Fadia informed me that he had been told by his father that formerly it was not permissible for any Faida man to marry any woman of the Baintso group. If this information is correct it would appear that the Kaje formerly had an exogamous clan organization which has only broken down in recent times. It has given place to a modified form of exogamy, based on the kinship, real or fictitious, of the local group inhabiting a single village-area. I was unable to obtain any clear evidence that village confederacies had also been totemic. It was stated that the Baiduang respected the leopard, but there was no evidence that the leopard was a totem, though one informant

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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Morwa

Where the plural prefix *Ma* is used, it is applied to people of alien origin and inferior birth. The Morwa do not themselves use these typically Bantu prefixes, but many Nigerian tribes in speaking of themselves use the Bantu plural prefix *Ba*. The Kaje, for example, who are neighbours of the Morwa, call themselves the Ba-ju, the Ikulu the Bakulu, and so on. The Morwa speak the same language as the Katab.

The Morwa are an independent tribe, though they were apparently subject in ancient days to the Habe kings of Zaria and certainly during the last century to the Beri-Beri and Fulani dynasties of Zaria. The tribe seems at one time to have been located slightly further to the north (at Yelwa) and to have been driven south by Zaria slave-raiders. The plain they now occupy is very fertile, and is flanked by the Kagoro hills which offered a safe retreat in time of war.

The ruling family resides at Manchok, and the present chief states that his family came originally from Kabanchan, a Kagoro town in the Madaiki's district of Jemaa. The earliest settlers were the kindred known as the Ye-Lutsi who migrated to Manchok from Tankurang (Yelwa) across the Zaria-Plateau provincial boundary sometime last century. In this kindred is vested the priestly functions, and we have thus at Manchok the bisection so commonly found, into (*a*) the earliest settlers and custodians of the religious rites, (*b*) the ruling family, a later arrival.

The district consists of a number of village-areas of which the principal are Manchok (with Kisagwai), Beniki, Bandong, Chori, Agbwat (Babban Gidda), Matok, Gora, Bungen, Zankan, Mahuta, and Chonbano. All these are inhabited almost entirely by Asolio. Included in the district also are a number of villages inhabited by members of the neighbouring Ataka tribe. There is also a village called Nandiyam which consists of both Asolio and of Katab. There is free intermarriage between the Asolio and the sections which belong to other tribes, the marriages taking the form either of marriages with girls or of elopement with married women. In the latter case there is the usual rule that wife-stealing is not permissible among those living in close proximity, whether they belong to the same tribe or not.

The social organization is, as among the Kagoro and Katab, of a dual character, i.e. there is the kinship grouping and there

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

601 On the basis of Meek's table of kinship terms (*Northern Tribes*, II, pp. 26–7), Murdock has classified Katab terminology as "Normal Guinea" (comparable with, among others, the Chawai): according to Meek, it is identical with the Kagoro, and, save for dialectal differences, with the Kaje.

LOCAL ORGANS OF AUTHORITY: LEGAL PROCEDURE

613 793 622 The information available is somewhat confused. At the bottom of the scale the head of the compound or cluster of related compounds[21] seems to have considerable authority. Meek, however, indicates that the basic unit of authority is the lineage, each of which has a recognized social and religious chief, the *elenowum* (or *magajin elenowum*), a member of that branch of the lineage "which has always held the hereditary position of comptroller" of the lineage. He is not necessarily the oldest member; he may be and often is junior to other members of other branches of the lineage, but that does not lessen his authority. He is the chief priest and was formerly the custodian of human skulls taken in war; he is appealed to on all matters of custom, rank and seniority, but has no authority in political matters as the political chiefship always runs in another branch. The civil chief might, however, ask his advice or report to him the steps he had taken. The advice of the *elenowum* may be disregarded, but his "supposed magical powers would in the end conquer." Meek goes on to say that if the lineage consists of more than one extended family, each has also its head.

613 624 In addition to the social and political headships there are various other hereditary headships, always in different branches of the lineage. Among these Meek includes officers in charge of the *obwai* cult and the rain cult (see *Religion*, below), hunting "and the preparation of arrow poisons" (perhaps also the administration of the poison ordeal?), and another officer in charge of the young men "sending them out in a body to work on roads or to take part in a day's collective work on a farm, or to provide music at a festival, and so on" (possibly the same as the head of the *obwai* cult?). In general, Meek states, the lineages are fairly well localized in villages and hamlets, in any one of which, however, members of lineages other than the principal one may reside.

621 648 In Fulani times and earlier the village hamlet was apparently the basic unit of administration. To all appearances, in pre-Fulani times the chiefs of Kajuru, Kauru and Zaria were rivals in the territory occupied by members of the Katab Group. After the Fulani conquest, the situation remained complex owing to the rise of a Fulani Emirate at Jema'a Daroro, but Kajuru was eliminated from the lists, and Kauru was firmly affixed to Zaria Emirate, with the Katab tribal area "as an appendage." The Makama of Zaria became the chief of Kauru's "patron" at the court of the Emir, and the Galadiman Makama is said to have accompanied the chief of Kauru annually to Zangon Katab, "when tribute, in the form of slaves, was collected town by town." Meek adds that in matters of tribute the Kauru chiefs apparently dealt direct with each village, ignoring the clan organization, "but for purposes of such general administration as existed, a headman was appointed for each sub-clan, and his fealty sworn on the sacred sword [of the chief of Kauru]." The sub-clan head had little authority and nothing to do with the assignment or collection of taxes, but he was "the mouthpiece of the Kauru rulers," and could summon village and sub-clan heads to discuss matters of administration. He could deal with minor offences, but all important matters were referred to Kauru. According to Meek, the civil chief of the village or, more accurately, of the lineage, occupied a position "even more unenviable"; it was his business to apportion tax, which might be a horse or a slave or several according to the size of the village [lineage]. He also had to arrest criminals and send them to Kauru.[22] Apart from

[21] Meek's "extended family": see particularly Meek's description of the household.

[22] Zangon Katab was the site of an important slave-market: it is recorded that the Birom of the High Plateau disposed of certain categories of criminals through sale to Irigwe middlemen, who in turn sold them in Zango. (See also *Peoples of the Plateau Area of Northern*

these imposed duties " he was careful to mind his own business. Any excessive zeal would be rewarded with an arrow."

Under British Administration the system has altered considerably (quite apart from the prohibition of slavery). The Katuka, living permanently at Zangon Katab, is directly responsible to the Emir; the Katab tribal area has been divided, presumably on a strictly territorial basis, into seven Village-areas, and while the headmen of six of these seem to be " heirs " of the former heads of the sub-clans and small clans, it should be noted that the old Aswen administrative unit has apparently undergone fission, and a new, seventh, head has been created, on a basis as yet unknown.

The Katuka is said to have bowed to tradition in the matter of ceremonial and procured two swords of Prussian manufacture from Kauru, which are used in the installation of Village-area headmen in certain cases; here again, the available materials are difficult to interpret, but it seems that although the Katab have never had a tribal chief recognizable as such, Minyaim clan appears to occupy a prominent position, presumably as a result of which the Katuka has " issued " the ceremonial swords to the heads of Aswen and Fakan, who, according to Meek, " use the swords for swearing-in minor officials " of those two sub-clans only.[33]

Meek states further that the sub-clan and clan headmen " combine to form a native court which sits monthly at each of the sub-clan headquarters." The sub-clan [sic: head?] and elders also, form a deliberative assembly. Oaths were most frequently resorted to in cases of paternity, failure to settle which, by arbitration, might end in the administration of poison to fowls representing the parties to the dispute. A women may take an oath on her head-board, " May I die in childbirth if I lie! ". Traditionally, cases within a lineage of virtually any sort, with the possible exception of murder and theft, which are likely to have been very rare, were handled by the lineage heads. Within the sub-clan cases appear to have been settled by arbitration, perhaps by a disinterested lineage head. In inter-clan disputes it seems that another clan or sub-clan might adjudicate, but the position is not entirely clear.

Inheritance

In general " a man's property and titles pass to his sons or paternal nephews, brothers or paternal cousins," but Meek records exceptional cases where a sister's son received a share of the property of the deceased, and a man inherited from his maternal grandfather's widow. Females do not inherit from males, husbands from wives, parents from children, or grandchildren from grandparents, other than wives, as indicated already. Succession is by preference first to collaterals; inheritance equally to adult lineal descendants (sons).

The Life Cycle

Birth

To celebrate the first conception of a (married) woman, a " beer-feast " is held by the prospective father " for all his own and his wife's relatives." In general there are no religious observances in connection with pregnancy, however, though a specialist may be called in to administer " medicine " from time to time. The mother is delivered—sitting on her head-board—in her husband's compound,

Nigeria). It appears that the Katab occasionally rallied " to drive the chief of Kauru out of Zangon Katab and pillage the Hausa inhabitants", but their relationship with Kauru may well have been to some extent voluntary, as it enabled them to dispose of murderers, thieves, and possibly certain other kinds of criminals also. Whether these criminals were in effect deducted from their annual dues is not clear, but it seems unlikely.

[33] On the other hand, Meek adds that " no village headman would feel that he had been properly appointed if he had not been shown the sword," so that it seems possible that between them the heads of Aswen and Fakan may play an important part in confirming all the Village-area heads of the Katab tribe.

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KANINKON

In 1909 the boundary between Zaria and the former Nasarawa Province ran from the vicinity of the Irigwe village of Kwon (Kwall), westward immediately to the north of Zangon Katab, thence in a south-westerly direction between Gora and Zangon Katab: thus, a large part of the Katab tribal area lay in Nasarawa Province. Subsequently boundary adjustments appear to have been made whereby Zaria acquired that part of Zangon Katab District which had till then been administered in Nasarawa Province (apparently including most if not all of Minyam clan territory and two-thirds of Agbat, the Hausa enclave of Zangon Katab, the Kachichere tribal area, virtually the whole of the Kaje tribal area, even Pari Village-area of the Chawai tribal area).

These details are important, because Temple ceased collecting materials for Northern Nigerian Tribes and Emirates only in 1916, and may well have failed to take into account this boundary change. Temple's description of Katab states that they have " one township over the border in Nassarawa Province," conceivably referring thus to the mass of Katab in Nasarawa described above. On the other hand, Brice-Smith (1922) noted that the Katab tribe " do not extend elsewhere except in one village, Tum, across the provincial boundary in the Jema'a Division of Nassarawa Province." There is in fact a hamlet of that name in Kagoro Independent District (a part of Jema'a Division until 1934): as has been indicated already, Kagoro is known to harbour a number of Katab immigrants. The search for Katab affiliates might well have stopped here, but for a cryptic note by A. B. Mathews which appears to suggest that Kaninkon refer to themselves as *Tum:* here is the admittedly tenuous link closing the circuit between Katab, Kagoro, Kachichere, and Kaninkon; the possibility of a closer connection between them than can yet be demonstrated is not to be overlooked.

Neither the meaning nor origin of these names can be stated, nor is it known by whom they are used at the present time.

POPULATION: LOCATION: SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The bulk of the Kaninkon occupy a fairly compact quadrangle, at least 30 square miles in area, near the south-westernmost extremity of the Kachichere Plateau, and at the base of that salient of Jema'a District which terminates in Kafanchan Town, on the Zaria border. They are thus separated from the main body of the Katab tribe by the Kafanchan tribe of Jema'a District, by Kaje, by Kagoro, and by the very considerable cosmopolitan centre, Kafanchan Town.

The most recent population figures available for the Kaninkon tribe are those compiled by Mathews (1934): Ambam (Anban), 251; Amere (Amare, Amre), 461; Bakin Kogi, 285; Gerti (Garte), 321; Ungwar Baki, 525; Ungwar Peri (Fari), 448; total, 2,291. A seventh village, Gwaska, identified by administration as Kaninkon, is located within this area; an eighth, Kwagiri, is located in the Yeskwa area of Kagoma-Yeskwa District. The Forestry Reconnaissance Map of Jema'a Division of 1948 shows Amere to be a dispersed settlement, with wards (Ungwar Sarkin Amere, Amere, and Old Amere) scattered the entire length and breadth of Kaninkon territory in Jema'a District.

The precise extent of Kaninkon territory is not known, so that the density of population cannot be established, but Mathews gave the density of Jema'a District (including the population of Kafanchan Town) as approximately 26 per square mile in 1934.

The only available account of Kaninkon is that compiled by Mathews. Virtually the whole of the Kachichere Plateau appears to have been " subject " to the Sarkin Kajuru (see Kachichere, below), at least until the rise of the Fulani. Mathews writes: " originally they had one chief for the whole tribe, and separate priests for each village. But during Fulani times the two sections, the Black Kaninkon and the White Kaninkon, fell out with one another because the latter, who are regarded as being of lower status than the Black . . . refused any longer to be regarded as a reservoir for providing more than their fair share of the annual tribute of slaves to

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaninkon
Kachichere

Jema'a. So they seceded, made their own chief, and their own arrangements about tribute to Jema'a."

From this point, Mathews' account becomes somewhat difficult to interpret: "A senior branch of the Kaninkon . . . comprises the towns of Amere, Bakin Kogi, and Gerti. [This is presumably the "Black" section of the tribe, though Mathews fails to label it as such.] They say that they were conquered by the Fulani and thereafter paid them tribute, but that each town had its own *jekada* and brought its own tribute to Jema'a. At first, when the Fulani had not come to Jema'a, they had one chief for them all [that is, a paramount chief of Kaninkon, presumably] and another one for the "Black" [spokesmen from which are informing here?] and "White" Kaninkon [that is, one "chief" for each section: see also below] . . . and [still another for] Ambam. But after the split there were separate chiefs, and they would not be prepared to unite now. . ."

It would appear that the sectional chiefs of the second paragraph quoted are perhaps the "separate priests for each village" of the first paragraph, and that the people of Amare, Bakin Kogi, and Garte constituted one local unit or village ("Black"), while Ungwar Peri and Ungwar Baki constituted another ("White"); the unique position of Ambam remains, however, to be explained. The position of the "paramount chief" cannot be determined precisely on the basis of the material here presented: he might have been the intermediary between the body of village priests and Sarkin Kajuru; or a ritual specialist of some sort with a wider than usual following (cf. the *teowap* of Shokwa, etc., under Katab, above).

According to Mathews, Kaninkon intermarry with the people of Nindam village, immediately south of Kaninkon territory (see Kachichere, below). Smith reports that Kagoro tradition describes Kaninkon as friends and allies of Kagoro (like Kagoro's Katab, Kafanchan and Jaba neighbours): this, apparently, in spite of the fact that Kaninkon submitted to Kagoro's Hausa-Fulani enemies, and may well have joined in raids on neighbouring tribes such as the Kagoro who resisted the power of Jema'a.

No other information is available regarding the Kaninkon and their culture.

Kachichere (Aticherak) of Zangon Katab District; "Daroro" of Jema'a District, Jema'a Emirate-Division, Plateau Province

Location: Population: Nomenclature: Affiliations: Traditions of Origin

South-east of the seven Village-areas of Zangon Katab District, Zaria Emirate, which constitute the (unofficial) Katab tribal area, against the northern border of Moroa Independent District, lie the Village-areas of Kachichere Arna and Pari—on the westernmost spur of the High Plateau, a peak of which rises to some 4,000 ft. above the village of Kachichere. Kachichere Arna (population 276, *c.* 1948) is inhabited largely by Aticherak—the Hausa corruption of which name is the more familiar "Kachichere." Pari is a Chawai (Atsam) community, but contains the important Aticherak hamlet of Lungu (population 520, in 1950). The total figure given in the N.A. Census of 1948–9 for Aticherak in Zangon Katab District (and Zaria Province) is 699; the slightly greater total of the two villages may be due to a small number of Hausa smiths in Kachichere Arna Village-area.[37]

[37] The designation Kachichere Arna, Hausa "Pagan Kachichere," implies the existence of another hamlet or village, Kachichere Hausawa: the Hausa smiths of Kachichere are famous, having settled there under the protection of the Sarkin Kajuru perhaps 200 years ago. These smiths seem to have been the source of swords among the Kagoro (and no doubt other tribes in the vicinity) which Meek and others have regarded as symbols of chieftaincy and of subordination to Kajuru: Smith, however, was told by Kagoro informants that the swords were given by itinerant Kajuru Hausa smiths out of Rahama, Kachichere, and other Hausa settlements, to those in Kagoro who were able to guarantee the safety of the smiths in their "unsettled" community, which suggests a system of commercially organized exploitation rare in Nigeria. Very little information is available regarding Kanuru and the swords

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kachichere

According to Smith, there are two communities of Aticherak origin in Kagoro District—Dussai (population 230) and Mafok (435): these have been so assimilated by Kagoro that they cannot seriously be considered as Aticherak, even though they have maintained a certain degree of integrity.

The people termed by Temple and Tremearne "Daroro" are apparently those called Kachichere in very recent years by the Administration of Jema'a Division: these Kachichere are located in a triangular area, Jagindi Station-Ungwar Audi-Nindam, some 35 square miles in area, virtually at the heart of Jema'a District, to the south of Kaninkon and 15 miles from Kafanchan Town. Their identity with the Daroro tribe depends on the accuracy of Temple's statement that Nindam (a Kachichere village, according to the latest information) is "the only town in their occupation," that is, of the Daroro. It is of interest that the account of the founding of Jema'a Emirate given by Temple, who appears to have been unaware of any connection between Daroro and Kachichere, tends to support, by strong implication, Administration's innovation in nomenclature.[48] The Daroro were "conquered and drive out [of Kachichere territory] by the Fulani, *c.* 1805-10." to their present abode. It is also significant that the high plains "undulating and dotted with hills" between Kachichere Area and Jagindi have been known in former times by the name Kachichere Plateau.

The most recent population figures available are those of Mathews (1934):

Village [49]	*Population*
Akwa	114
Danguwa (Dangwa)	196
Nindam Kogo (Nindam)	206
Numbu	247
Zangan Kogo (Zankan)	259
Total	1,022

According to the traditions collected by Brice-Smith and others in Zaria, Aticherak claim to have been the "original" inhabitants of the present-day Katab tribal area, to have extended hospitality to Katab immigrants, and to have been crowded subsequently into the narrow pocket which they now inhabit by the armed incursions of Kagoro, Moroa (Asolio), and Aten. They may have some special affinity with Atsam (Chawai) their neighbours on the north; at Lungu, informants have stated that all Aticherak are related to Atsam of Pari (cf. Ungwar Peri or Fari (Pari) in Jema'a District). They were subjects, apparently willing ones and as such special favourites, of the Sarkin Kajuru, before the Jihad, as were Ikulu, Kamantan, even the Kachichere, Fulani and probably others among their neighbours.[49] It is not known to what extent Aticherak of Zangon Katab District maintain relations with their kinsmen of Nindam-Daroro.

traced ultimately to the influence of that petty kingdom, but it appears that Zangon Katab was founded by Kauru, and Zango's fame as a centre of craftsmen suggests a similar system. (It will be recalled that Kauru is reputed to have been founded by a man of Wadai; the chiefs of Kajuru are said to be Beriberi—Kanuri—in origin.) Cf. tradition relating to dispersion of Maguzawa smiths from the environs of Kano City in the 14th century, reported by Temple.

[48] "Jema'a was founded by Mallam Usuman. . . . He went to Zaria . . . and received permission to enter Kachichere territory, where, with a following of cattle Fulani, he settled in the neighbourhood of Jema'ar Daroro—which probably received its name from the people Daroro inhabiting that mountain."

[49] Whatever its traditions of origin, Administration regards Akwa as assimilated by the "aboriginal" Numana peoples of Jema'a District, though the traditions of a miraculous local origin of the Numana on the Kachichere Plateau may indicate some kind of an early link with Aticherak. The present-day list of villages recognized by Administration indicates considerable dispersal since 1934; the list includes Ungwar Anga, Ungwar Audi, Ungwar Madaki, Ungwar Magaji, Ungwar Makeranta, and Ungwar Umaru, in addition to Danguwa, Nindam Kogo, and Zangan Kogo (Numbu has disappeared from the list).

[49] Some of whom, however, appear to have resisted the claims of Kajuru.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

224 a tribal hunt in the large marsh of Kagoro District. These two tribal hunts (*anerifan*), which open the Kagoro year and hunting season, are of great ritual importance. After they have been performed the clan hunting areas of each community are opened in strict order of precedence.

224 554 721 [558] Prestige is associated with hunting skill and men who slew certain beasts (leopard, dwarf buffalo, " antelope " and roan [antelope]) were honoured by special titles. There are also titles associated with inter-tribal warfare and the practice of removing the heads of dead enemies. Terms of contempt were applied to men who had removed the head of an enemy killed by another, or by stealthy murder. Indiscriminate head-hunting was not practised; men won prestige titles only during fighting which had been announced by the battle-horns. Neither hunting nor head-taking prowess was apparently a necessary condition of adulthood, but either gave a man a voice in the village council.

648 Relationships with other tribes are traditionally expressed in terms of warfare and head-hunting, the occupation of territory and also, to some degree, marriage: such relations thus differ only in degree from intra-tribal relations among villages and *kwai*, and indeed *ufam* and *tusa*.[79a] At the time of the growth of the original Kagoro settlements on Kagoro Rock, perhaps at the beginning of the 19th century, Kagoro enlisted the help of Aten of Ganawuri to drive out the Kachichere who were in occupation of the plain to the north of the Rock. Thereafter the history of eastern Kagoro consisted of a series of short fights with Ataka over women, farmlands, and hunting rights. In the west the enemies of Kagoro were Kaje and the Hausa-Fulani of Jema'a, while their friends were Katab, Jaba, Kaninkon, and Kafanchan tribes. Fighting with Kaje arose from disputes over hunting and farmlands and secondary marriages.

ECONOMY: LAND TENURE

476 It is possible to treat Kagoro economy in a summary fashion, since for the most part generalizations based on available materials do not differ from those already set down for Katab proper (see above, pp. 68–9).[79b]

Co-operative Enterprise: According to Smith, " most tasks beyond the ability of individual households " are commonly undertaken by co-operative groups of varying personnel. Certain activities may be undertaken by clan groups, by persons linked by marriage or uterine ties, by the local community, by men, women, girls, and boys separately, while others are private individual arrangements. " Co-operative work extends throughout all traditional economic activity not reserved by definition for the domestic unit." Smith goes on to say that it is misleading among Kagoro to regard different domestic units as self-contained economic units. There is neither purely individual land tenure nor individual production, and consumption itself is, within the complex of ritual kinship and marriage obligations, not limited to household members only. Cash as a medium of internal exchange is unimportant, and " the social advantages of subsistence farming appear to the Kagoro to outweigh the material advantages of increased production of cash exchange in acquisition and satisfaction of new needs, specialisation, etc." In an annotated table Smith describes over twenty named institutions among Kagoro involving co-operative activity, ranging from the planting, cultivating and harvesting of specific (traditional) crops (accompanied by ritual), and hunting (also, as already noted, accompanied by ritual), to what might be termed simple industrial activities, involving limited division of labour. Among apparently recent innovations in the field of co-operation among Kagoro are the district-wide consumer

[79a] The process of fusion noted to be vital among Kagoro has bearing on this essential fact, which itself is consistent with a pattern emerging from the accounts of other, related, tribes discussed above.

[79b] Statements made in the preceding section and hereinafter reveal differences from the Katab possibly more apparent than real, but as Kagoro have been the most thoroughly investigated of these peoples further investigation may well show that they are by no means unique in such ways as they now appear to be.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

361 103 162 614

"Tribal sections"	*Hamlet*	*Village Area*	*Population*
Banewhan	Afana	*Afana*	1,185
	Kotsik		
	Gidan Tagwai	*Gidan Tagwai*	1,70
	Amfan		
	Bakin Kogi		
	G. Tagwai Hausa		
	Makera Hausa		
	Kamurun Kaje	*Kamurun Kaje*	1,979
	Kurdan		
	Sokwap		
	Zauru		
	Marsa	*Marsa*	*2,227 : 7,095*
	Chanchu		
	Kunye		
	Rikawan		
Batadon	Madakiya	*Madakiya*	3,398
	Atat		
	Ayagan		
	Bodari		
	Bonkwa		
	Hausawan Matsirgas		
	Hurjam		
	Kauraje		

648 Kaje appear early to have become subject to the Kajuru kingdom which dominated the whole of the Kachichere Plateau till the Jihad, and thereafter to the Fulani: in the middle of the last century, Kaje were divided between Zaria and Jema'a Emirates, and remained so under the British till 1934, when the whole of Banewhan and Batadon, and parts of Baimbin and Bainturung tribal sections were transferred from Jema'a to Zangon Katab District of Zaria.

631 622 At the present time the Kaje area of Zangon Katab is organized and administered as follows. Each recognized village or hamlet within each Village-area has its own civil head: these presumably retain the old title of *agwam*.[110] Subordinate to the hamlet-head may be one or more titled messengers, and a number of ward (Hausa *unguwa*) heads, entitled Madaki (Hausa title), if formally invested by the Village-area head, or Mai-unguwa (Hausa), in the interim. In addition, each hamlet normally has another official, also bearing a Hausa title, Magajin gari; he is either a retired hamlet-head, or a senior relative, who advises the hamlet-head, and acts for him in his absence.

According to Reynolds, one of the hamlets is selected on historical grounds to be, administratively, the senior hamlet of the Village-area. The head of this hamlet automatically becomes the Village-area head. Whether wards within hamlets are similarly arranged in order of seniority is not clear. The Village-area head bears the title Magaji (Hausa, plural Magadai). Each Village-area has, further, a Jekada, a resident representative of the Katuka (the District head, himself the representative of the Emir of Zaria at Zangon Katab): he is essentially a messenger between the Magaji and the Katuka (cf. Wakili, below).

Resident at Zonkwa, the Wakilin Kaje (Hausa, "minister to Kaje"), whose particular title is Sarkin Fada (Hausa, approximately "Major-domo"), is the Katuka's "mouthpiece" in the Kaje tribal area, as the several Jekadu are his "ears." The net result of this system is to bring the Village-area heads individually to terms, as it were, with the District head, though the post of Wakili is a tacit recognition of the essential integrity of the Kaje "tribe." One of the Jekadu in the Kaje area, further serves as a sort of tribal scribe under the Wakili.

[110] See below. Reynolds, whose analysis of Kaje titles is otherwise meticulous, inexplicably fails to give the indigenous title of the hamlet-head.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

areas, Zonkwa and Zuturung, are reported to have contracted secondary marriages with wives of men in the other.

Baimbin: men of the drum: The six major lineages appear to be exogamous units at present: it is perhaps noteworthy that in Suryan Village-area only Kanakada is a composite hamlet, its residents divided between two major lineages. Baimbin section, that is, Suryan Village-area, is the " wife-stealing " unit.

Bainturung: settlers: Bainturung, which appears to be completely alien in origin, is composed of two maximal lineages, Amabat and Farman, with no tradition of kinship apart from extensive intermarriage. Originally the maximal lineages were the exogamous units, now the major lineages. Bainturung (Gidan Jatau Village-area) is the " wife-stealing " unit. The post of Village-area head is held by Farman.

Baintsok: men of the little hill: Four of the six major lineages are to be found in Fadan Kaje Village-area, one predominating in each of the three constituent hamlets, and one divided between two of them. The remaining two are located in Fadiya Village-area, where in general the minor lineage corresponds to the hamlet. As regards the *atiyinhwap*, the two Village-areas constitute a single unit. In Fadan Kaje the head of the Village-area is chosen from a relatively senior minor lineage of the same major lineage as the *atiyinhwap;* in Fadiya from a junior minor lineage of the single Kaje lineage there (as opposed to the aboriginal, adopted lineage, at Kahon, in that Village-area).

Banewhan: men of the mountains: This is the most complex section, being composed of a number of wholly disparate units, of origins apparently as varied as those of the component parts of any other section of the tribe. Banehwan has two maximal lineages, Sokwap, restricted to the Kamuru Village-area (Kamurun Kaje); and Potwak, distributed among Marsa, Gidan Tagwai, and Afana Village-areas. Minor lineages appear to be localized; each major lineage within the section generally constitutes an exogamous unit. Each of the four Village-areas constitutes a separate " wife-stealing " unit.

Batadon: men of tadon: Batadon consists of eight component lineages. In general, each major lineage forms a single hamlet. Reynolds notes as apparently exceptional that *atiyinhwap* and *gado abwai* (*obwai* priest) are held by the same person. The major lineage is the exogamous unit here, as elsewhere. Secondary marriage units are not so clear-cut, indicating that perhaps the hamlet is in process of emerging as the " wife-stealing " unit.

It will be seen from the above accounts that primary marriage rules and the structure of sections would permit of sectional endogamy, whereas in a majority of cases secondary wives must be sought outside the section. Such wives may quite frequently be taken from neighbouring tribes (see also below). In war, Kaje differentiated between Kaje, Kagoma, Jaba of Kwoi, and Ikulu on the one hand and Kagoro, Kamantan, Katab, and Jaba of Kachia on the other. When war was resorted to a single minor lineage on both sides refrained from fighting, and in the end joined together to negotiate a settlement.

Totemism

According to Meek, there is apparently a tendency for the Village-area exogamous group to identify itself with a certain animal, but present-day evidence does not support this. Reynolds found persons admitting to " taboos " on animal species, but taboos inherited through the mother and not the father. It is therefore possible for all uterine members of a compound to have the same taboo, and the mother's female children give this taboo to their children.[114]

[114] Reynolds found similar matrilineal totemic groupings among Chawai, reported in *Peoples of the Plateau Area of Northern Nigeria.*

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
KAJe
Jaba

Jaba country is an extension of the Kachichere Plateau of Zangon Katab, Kagoro, Moroa and Jema'a Districts, described by Temple as undulating, becoming rugged to the south with thick belts of kurmi in the north. It is watered on the north by the headwaters of the Gurara River, and there are innumerable streams throughout the district which become considerable torrents in the wet season. The soil on the lower level is a rich loam and marshy. 133

The fragmentary traditions ascribed to Jaba suggest an origin in the north, and the gist of Lungu tradition, collected by Hyne (1916) and summarized by Mathews, seems to be that at the time of Moslem expansion in this area (*c.* 1840) eastern Kachia District was the main centre of Jaba settlement, the implication being that the region now designated Jaba Independent (Kwoi) District was occupied only thereafter, under Moslem pressure, by Jaba resisting the Moslem advance (see also below). 173

Economy

Jaba are outstanding as growers of ginger which seems to have been grown in the area at the time of the first reported contact with Europeans, early in this century. Normally their crop—which is of a species not widely valued and not cured in a manner generally acceptable to world-market consumers—is disposed of locally to Hausa and Kanuri traders, who retail it chiefly at the great Kano and Yerwa (Maiduguri) markets. Administration has attempted to " improve " the local product with an eye to the European market, and to introduce the crop among the neighbouring tribes (Kadara, Kaje, Ikulu and others), while at the same time improving market facilities. It is probably too early to estimate the value of these efforts, however. 249

Otherwise, available details suggest that the economy of Jaba does not differ markedly from that of, say, Katab proper, though Jaba of Kachia are in some respects more conservative. The Jaba of Kwoi are more progressive than the Kagoro, although less favourably situated, particularly as regards rail and motor road. Differences of population density (cf. 19 in Kachia with 79 in Jaba Independent District) and in the political situation are at once symptomatic and the cause of the difference in attitudes. 433

As already noted, Jaba of Kwoi were committed to resistance against the Fulani Emirs, while Jaba of Kachia value peace more highly, and the *status quo* which, at peace, they were paradoxically able to preserve under Moslem rule. Endemic warfare, as Cole points out, must have led to the prudent scattering of family holdings in land (cf. Kagoro), in Jaba Independent District, which did not happen in Kachia. The result has been that, as Cole says, the Jaba Kwoi are " a poverty stricken people " compared with Kachia, " who can run to only one wife apiece as a normal rule whereas they [the Kachia Jaba] can run to four or five—even ten on occasions."[124] The Jaba Kwoi youths are " an irresponsible lot " in the eyes of Kachia Jaba, " who go ruaning off to the mines to make money and do not look after their lands properly," while their own youths stay at home and become good farmers on the family land. 648 511

Dress

In dress women generally conform to Katab norms, but Meek indicates that in Kwoi Town women had taken to wearing cloth garments. Tremearne states that Jaba males commonly wore loincloths, rather than skins (cf. Kagoro), even at the outset of contact, though there is an indication that skin was worn on ritual occasions. In facial markings, as in housing, Jaba follow Katab patterns. 291

[124] Whether the exaggeration is Cole's or Jaba informants' is not clear; the only available clearly relevant figures (Barnicot, 1933) show 114 adult males, 123 adult females at Kwaturu in Kachia.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
KAGOMA.

Linguistically, Kagoma are impossible to classify with any certainty: the view has been expressed that they are connected, perhaps distantly, with Katab, but it appears that only a few words are available for comparison. On the basis of these it is perhaps far-fetched to suggest that Kagoma language may be more closely related to the Jaba than to the more typical languages of the Katab Group, such as Kaje or Katab, but such a conclusion would not be unexepected, in view of the proximity of the two peoples.

Social Organization

Kagoma are said to have capitulated early to the Fulani, though they appear to have revolted frequently against Moslem exactions, perhaps because of their very poverty and the rugged character of their environment. Villages were commonly perched upon the inselberg formations which characterize the area, and so were relatively easy to defend, but at the same time easy to besiege and difficult to flee from when their defences were pierced, so that the Fulani were able from time to time to decimate the population of the area.

In times of peace the individual villages dealt directly with the Moslem District head; under Administration this relationship has been preserved in its essentials. Kagoma have, nevertheless, been administered in various ways, originally as a separate District, but since 1916 first as a joint District with a large section of the Kaje now in Zaria Province, to which Yeskwa were subsequently attached and, finally, since the transfer of Kaje north of Kafanchan to Zangon Katab District of Zaria in 1934, with Yeskwa alone.

Very little is known of the organization of Kagoma, apart from the facts set down by Mathews that each village has both a chief (*kpob*) and a priest (*gbuboga*). According to Mathews, the village head is said to be an indigenous institution, selected from the collateral lines of one particular family by a general meeting of elders (*bukwana*) and adults, including those from hamlets which have sprung from the parent village concerned. The man chosen will not necessarily be an old man, but he should have reached man's estate and be able to "acquit himself properly." In former times he could relinquish office with the consent of the elders when he felt that he was getting past his work. "The priest has a different status and is undoubtedly an earlier conception. He chooses his own successor (a younger brother or son), but this is his own business and not that of the elders though they could probably bring the force of public opinion to bear. The idea of a chief and priest as separate entities is now ingrained; even now the priest has much more real power than the chief, who will act only on the advice of the council of elders."

Main Cultural Features

Ames, writing of Kagoma cultural affiliations, for the most part merely summarizes Temple's earlier account, stating that "their birth, marriage and burial customs are similar to those of the Kaje-Jaba-Katab Group of tribes," more particularly the Jaba, it would appear.[139] Their "dodo" cult, which Ames tends to accept as a relatively recent innovation, bears a distinct resemblance to the Kaje *obwai*. In their house-building, and also their tribal marking, Kagoma conform to general Katab norms: just as the tribal marks seem to have spread over the entire region from a Katab or Kaje centre, Tremearne was of the opinion that the distinctive Katab house-type must have originated in Kaje or Kagoma, for here he found it universally used, in contrast with, say, practice in Kagoro and Moroa Districts.

The most notable known difference between Kagoma and typical tribes of the Katab Group lies in the fact that Kagoma women do not wear the *oyam* in any form (unless they have adopted it in recent years); neither do they wear leaves. Temple describes their attire as a "loincloth," and Tremearne as "a little strip of cloth."

[139] Another feature mentioned by Ames brings to mind Jaba: "They venerate a Supreme God who is connected with the sun."

3: Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoma

It has been suggested that they formed part of a large group which migrated from the north-west of Zaria, which includes the Kagoro, Attakka, Jaba, Kaje, Kaura and Moroa, to whom they show a certain affinity in language, customs and dress. 101

They speak a dialect of their own, and the majority know Haussa also. 197 191

Their Chief, "Dem," pointed out to Osuman, first Emir of Jemaa, the desirability of the site, and voluntarily paid tribute to Zaria through Jemaa. Circ. 1859 A.D. they ceased to pay, and a large proportion of the population were burnt out in caves in the resulting punitive expedition. Small raids continued until 1894, when they were finally subdued by the Filane and acknowledged the suzerainty of the Emir of Jemaa, to whom the Kagoma District head is now responsible. 648 175

The two acknowledged crimes were murder and theft. A murderer was required to give a bull to the bereaved family, whilst a thief was detained until his relatives paid a horse to the Sarkin Jemaa and two goats to his captors. 682 685

They are excellent agriculturists. Boys are given miniature hoes at the age of three years old. 241 524

They are of good physique. 192

The men wear a triangular-shaped leather loin-covering, or a skin that hangs from the shoulder, and bind their beards with grass. They carry wooden swords. 291

Virgins wear an apron of green strings ornamented with cowries and brass bells. Married women wear a loin-cloth. 291 301

Nearly all the villages are situated on the top of the hills, amongst almost inaccessible rocks. The huts are of mud, surmounted by conical-shaped grass roofs. The interior is divided into three partitions by means of mud-arches projecting from the wall.* 361 342

A girl may be betrothed before her birth, the *fiancé* undertaking that should the unborn babe prove to be a boy he will be its friend all through life. Such an arrangement is, however, of rare occurrence, the custom being for a girl to be engaged to the first man who gives her parents a fowl and bespeaks her after her birth. The suitor further gives her father a hoe or 2,000 cowries every year, until the girl has arrived at marriageable age at about ten years; as the marriage day approaches he gives the bride's father a further present of five chickens. On the day itself, six of his boy friends enter her parents' house, where she is hidden amongst the women, find and capture her, and take her to one of the groom's female relations. They return at night, give the custodian a chicken and take the bride to the groom's house, where he is awaiting her with three male friends who proceed to address the young pair on the duties 584 585

* *Vide* Jaba, p. 163.

3: Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

be divided into three, but otherwise there is no variation. The pigment used is from the unripe kernel of the gaude (*Gardenia thumbergia*). The face is, moreover, ornamented with beads, tin or coloured earth. They seldom wash, if ever. Men wear triangular tanned leather loin-coverings, or a skin which hangs from one shoulder to the back of the knee, the front legs being tied together loosely so that its owner may easily shift it to protect the exposed side of his body. This is usually made of goat-skin on which the hair is left. Hats made of plaited palm-fibres are also frequently worn. A cape made of palm leaves is used by both sexes as a protection against rain. None but Chiefs under Government wear cloth, and these have Haussa tobes.

Youths generally shave their heads, except for a broad ridge of hair from the forehead to the nape of the neck. No shaving is done during harvest time, but at other seasons the men from time to time shave off their moustaches, but usually wear a beard.

The tribal marks are the same for both sexes and are inflicted at certain epochs in their lives—the boys have their foreheads scarified when they are able to hoe. A girl has her chest and back marked on reaching marriageable age, and her forehead when she goes to her husband. In old days the marks consisted of irregular cuts on the forehead only, but two generations ago a skilful Katab operator invented a pattern which has been adopted by Kagoro, Attaka, Moroa and Kajji, as well as by his own people. It consists of numerous short perpendicular cuts along the forehead from ear to ear, and thirteen or more long slanting lines on each cheek from ear to chin. The incisions are painted with soot.

The customs of the above-mentioned neighbouring tribes have many points of similarity, and the language of the Kagoro is similar to that of the Attakka and Moroa, and resembles that of the Katab and Kajji. Haussa is spoken by a few individuals only.

It has been suggested that, in common with the Attakka, the Kagoro own Bauchi as their country of origin, that a long while ago they migrated to Nimbia—in South Nassarawa—and thence to their present location. In matters of dress, tribal marks, architecture, customs and language they show, however, obvious affinity to the Katab and Kajji tribes in the north-west, who trace their migrations from the north.

They have always retained their independence, though they suffered defeats at the hands of the Kajji and from the Filane of Jemaa. They would, however, probably have been conquered by the latter had not a Filane mallam foreseen in a dream that whoever should subjugate them would die.

3 Temple G-4 (no date) 1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

Their first acquaintance with the Filane was when some settlers of that race came to their country at Kachicharri and paid certain irregular tribute of cattle to the Kaje.

At the outbreak of the Jihad, however, they were invaded by the Filane who came and settled near Mount Daroro. The Kaje decided to wipe them all out, but the plot was betrayed by the Filane concubine of Sarkin Indema and her compatriots escaped. She, herself, suffered condign punishment, being thrown into a hole which was filled up with stones and she was thus buried alive.

When the Filane settled at Jemaa in the same neighbourhood, the Kaje again tried to turn them out, circ. 1812 A.D., but were ultimately defeated—some of them fled into Zaria Province, and the main body to Sanga, south-east of Jemaa.

The Kaje were situated on both sides of the Zaria-Nassarawa boundary when the Filane Emir of Zaria, Abdul Karimi, circ. 1835 A.D., sent a force against them at their principal town of Kurmin Bi, to exact tribute. An arrangement was come to, but circ. 1849 Mohman Sani, then Emir of Zaria, led a punitive expedition against them and told the southern section to follow the Sarkin Jemaa, since which time they have had no recognised tribal Chief. In 1858 they were again recalcitrant and Audu, Emir of Zaria, finally broke them. Since 1870 the Jemaa Kaje have been ruled, nominally at least, by Jekada from Jemaa, and in 1912 they were induced to acknowledge the practical suzerainty of the Sarkin Jemaa and accepted, as District head, Liman Umoru, a Filane of Jemaa.

In old days each village was governed by a council of Elders and an hereditary village Chief. This office was, however, usually vacated after a few years, the Chief nominating the most capable member of his family to be his successor and himself retiring to a seat on the council. An office bearer called Tagama (Magajin Mutua) judged all disputes and apportioned farm-lands, to which the occupant and his heirs had exclusive right so long as the land was cultivated. It was not uncommon, however, for the occupant to lease his land, practically as a matter of goodwill, for he only received a pot of beer, which lease was terminable by either party after the dawa harvest; no woman might hold land.

There was a regular system of punishment of crime, but there were only three legal offences: Theft from a storehouse, murder and adultery. The two latter were alike punishable by death or by banishment.

A thief's family paid a horse to the village head, who was the judge in all judicial affairs.

A murderer was expelled from the village for two years; he was sent first to Kurmin Bi, thence to Sakwot, thence to Fadan Kagoma, where he worked on the Kogoma farms. He

426 the land. This being so the fact that the borrower is prepared to
572 build a house on the land and be somewhat more than a bird of passage is proof positive of the extent of the friendship and therefore something to be encouraged—a relic of the days when farmlands were plentiful and abundant and every addition to the male strength of the community was much sought after and welcomed.

425 33. Apart from the three transactions described above no other transactions affecting land appear to take place and if they do take place they would not be recognised by customary law. Individual tenure may have become firmly established; but this tenure is not absolute and is subject to definite customary restrictions and limitations.

The Authority in land matters.

622 34. When living in their strongholds in the Kagoro hills, the
621 Kagoro had no single tribal chief. It would be extremely difficult, at this stage, to establish what, if any, the highest single socially cohesive unit might have been—clan, sept, kindred or family group. As pointed out in paragraph 21 above, however, this is of academic interest. Whatever may have been the unit in the past there
● 648 remains no discernible trace of it now. The district boundaries have
423 been established by the British Administration and so have
197 the village unit boundaries; a District Head and Village Unit Heads have been acknowledged and appointed and the unit is run as a tribal whole. There is evidence that parallel with the breakdown to individual tenure of the land there has been a definite development, by consent, in the new Tribal Authority's powers as regards land matters—the Tribal Authority in this case being the District Head acting with the advice and consent of his Elders. Whether or not this development is from within or a mere copying of neighbouring Emirate custom is hard to say. It exists and it is of equal interest to the development reported in paragraph 49 of Mr Rowling's Plateau Province Report, *i.e.*, " the recoil on to intensified control ". The following example [illegible] pointers.

423 35. All farmable lands in the Kagoro district are allocated,
311 *i.e.*, are claimed by some person or persons as being lands originally cultivated by their own immediate ancestors and therefore inherited by them. This applies to ' bush ' as well as fallow. In the past, however, swamps and kurumis were considered as being of no use for farming purposes however useful they were as hiding places in
[197] the event of a raid. They remained communal. The introduction of rice and sugar cane cultivation has now altered matters. Swamp land can now be used. It is held that any member of the village unit within which the swamp lies has the right, without seeking permission from anyone, to take up such portions of the swamp as are sufficient for his needs. Any person from outside the village

Kagoro
Jaba

41. As pointed out in the Kano and Plateau Reports it is necessary that the greatest care should be taken when such " registration " takes place in order that no doubt can be left as to precisely what the lender of the land is giving and the borrower receiving. The need for some such form of registration could not be better illustrated than by the District Head's realisation of the need and his attempt to meet that need.

Plateau Report paragraph 129.
Kano Report paragraph 71.
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42. The produce of economic trees belongs to the owner of the farm on which the tree stands. It does not pass either with exchange, loan or pledge. The produce of economic trees not on farmlands, *e.g.*, the oil palms in the kurumi, is held to be public property and anyone is at liberty to take it. There appear to be no particular or special prescriptive rights to particular persons in regard to economic trees.

Sylvan produce.
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JABA KWOI DISTRICT

43. Some distance to the west of the Kagoro district and separated from it by a spur of the Zaria Emirate lies the Jaba Kwoi independent district. Until 1934 it was administered as part of the Plateau Province. In that year, however, it was detached from the Plateau Province and became an independent district of the Zaria Province within which the rest of the Jaba tribe reside under Emirate control. The Emirate boundary thus divides the Jabawa of whom there are about 24,500, 14,000 of whom live in the independent district and 10,500 in the Kachia district of the Zaria Emirate. This Emirate boundary marks the boundary between those Jabawa who accepted Fulani domination and those who continued to resist and retained their independence by hiding in the once thickly forested valleys of their district.

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44. The attempt to relate territorial village units of the Jaba Kwoi independent district with separate kindreds or family groups was here, as with the Kagoro, abortive. Whatever may have been the basis of land tenure in the past there can be no doubt that it is now, in the great majority of cases, individual. The family or extended family holding of land is abundantly less common than that of the individual. The reason for this state of affairs lies, as with the Kagoro, in the continual harrying and dispersal of the original inhabitants by the Fulani. Kindred lands were of necessity widely fragmented and with neither the cohesion of a settled existence or of a compact living space the kindred holding concept was undermined. Support for this theory is very evident in the fact, reverted to in paragraph 63 below, that the Jabawa who accepted Fulani domination and consequently were not widely scattered and harried still retain this concept and still have compact lands.

Breakdown to individual tenure.
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[p. 12]